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ABSTRACT

This study successively tests simple modeling, normative influence, and conditional positive modeling hypotheses about the working mother's effect on her daughter's work orientation. Four hypotheses are postulated and tested separately by race to examine possible racial differences. The most complex hypothesis is that if modeling is conditioned by other characteristics of the mother than those considered, that modeling will be heightened by the following two characteristics: increasing the work orientation of girls with working mothers, and decreasing the work orientation of girls with nonworking mothers. It is also hypothesized that white girls' work orientation is more likely than black girls' to be a function of commitment to the exclusive homemaker role. Data from a 1973 urban population of black and white high school girls and a sample of their mothers revealed no evidence of either simple positive modeling or normative influence, but simple negative modeling occurred for black girls whose mothers worked in blue collar jobs. Conditional positive modeling is evident for all girls. Findings are contrasted with those from studies of male achievement socialization, which are said to stress the importance of direct normative influence. (Author/AM)

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Mother's Employment and Daughter's Work Orientation: a Test of Alternative Socialization Processes for Blacks and Whites*

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ABSTRACT

Maternal socialization has long been considered a key determinant of female labor-force participation, and positive role-modeling has been the principal explanation of the relationship. We consider additional socialization processes, comparing simple-modeling, normative-influence, and conditional-modeling hypotheses of how working mothers affect their daughter's work orientation. We use data from a 1973 urban population of black and white high school girls and a sample of their mothers. We found no evidence of either simple positive modeling or normative influence, but simple negative modeling occurred for black girls whose mothers worked in blue-collar jobs. Conditional positive modeling was evident for all other girls. We contrast these findings with those from studies of male-achievement socialization, which stress the importance of direct normative influence.

Mother's Employment and Daughter's Work Orientation: a Test of Alternative Socialization Processes for Blacks and Whites

In 1972, approximately two-fifths of the employed women in America had children under eighteen; this figure is nearly a three-fold increase from that for 1948 (Nye 1974, pp. 5-14). The social-demographic reasons for this increase have been carefully analyzed elsewhere (Oppenheimer 1973; Sweet 1973). Valuable as these macrolevel accounts are, though, analysis of social-psychological reasons is also essential. The increased proportion of working mothers has probably been accompanied by changes in adolescent girls' future-orientations; finding the "right job" may be becoming as important as finding the "right man" formerly was. In the past, girls who planned both to marry and to work generally viewed working as secondary in importance, and so chose (and had available to them) mostly jobs that offered minimal interference with family obligations. Caplow (1954), Rossi (1965), Psathas (1968), Oppenheimer (1968), and Tangri (1972) have described the characteristics of such traditional jobs. Girls choosing to remain single exercised greater freedom of occupational choice, although the proportion of such girls was small, well under five percent (Douvan and Adelson 1966, p. 367; Turner 1964a, p. 280; Flanagan et al. 1964, p. 525).

Adolescent girls in the 1970's have an increasing range of family-role options, and their choices (e.g., to delay marriage or childbearing) are strongly affected by their attitudes toward working. Family-career commitment attitudes measured on adult women have been shown (Kim, Roderick, and Shea 1972) to be effective predictors of labor force

participation several years later. For adolescents this causal linkage is less immediate, but initial work attitudes do influence a number of life-style decisions that will make labor force participation more or less feasible. For example, black professional women have reported (Epstein 1973) that planning and anticipatory socialization during adolescence were essential to their high attainments and continuous labor force participation.

Many prior studies of work orientation have used indicators that included measures of achievement orientation, thus revealing an implicit assumption that work orientation is part of a girl's overall level of ambition (see, for example, Siegel and Curtis's [1963] "work orientation"; Almquist and Angrist's [1971] "index of career salience"). However, Turner (1964a) found no difference in level of material ambition between girls who wanted to be homemakers only and those who also wanted to have careers. The career-oriented girls showed more intrinsic ambition--desire to achieve aesthetic and intellectual goals, so Turner inferred that such goals were their primary reason for wanting a career. Indeed, for some girls material ambition may be related negatively to work orientation. An example would be girls from low-income backgrounds whose goal is finding a husband who can provide adequate support in order to avoid the forced-work situation of their mothers. The picture becomes more complicated when one adds differences in sex-role concepts. A woman who thinks it inappropriate for mothers of young children to work will not be very work-oriented, no matter how ambitious she is--materially, intrinsically, or otherwise. In short, most women who are extremely work-oriented are probably very ambitious in some ways, but women who are <u>not</u> work-oriented

are not necessarily lower in ambition.

Race can also affect a girl's work orientation. Black culture is less likely than white culture to interpret a full-time, working-mother's role as showing low family commitment. Working mothers with young children are both more common (Nye 1974, p. 22) and more accepted within the black community (Shea, Spitz, and Zeller 1970); also, working, "for the money" (Hoffman 1974a, p. 36), has a more realistic basis among blacks, whose families often experience greater financial need than do whites' families. Mother substitutes from within the extended family have been more readily available to black mothers, and the mothering role for blacks does not include constant surveillance of children to the extent that it does for whites (Rainwater 1959, 1966). Consequently, black girls' work orientation is more likely to be based on the desirability of the work itself, and less likely than for white girls to reflect degree of normative commitment to an exclusive family role. This crucial difference in the meaning of work orientation is likely to result in a parallel racial difference in the determinants of work orientation.

The work status of the mother has been considered especially important to girls' work orientation (see, e.g., Hoffman 1974b; Wallston 1973). Researchers have generally interpreted this effect as a function of positive role-modeling, in that children of working mothers "are exposed to a female parent who implements a social role not implemented by the female parent of other children" (Hartley 1961, p. 42; emphasis added). The argument is that daughters of working mothers hold more favorable attitudes toward employment because they have observed a model who combines the homemaker and the employee roles, and they feel confident that they

can do the same (Almquist and Angrist 1970, 1971; Angrist 1972). We consider this interpretation unnecessarily narrow.

Under certain conditions negative role-modeling may operate. If a working mother exhibits unhappiness or inadequacy in performing one or both of her roles, the daughter may decide that not working is the way to avoid a similar fate. For example, one important determinant of mother's work satisfaction, and hence of positive or negative modeling, is likely to be her occupation's status. Many previous studies, in particular those by Almquist and Angrist, have used relatively homogeneous samples of upper middle-class white college students. Working mothers from such samples are more likely to have white-collar jobs and to be successful (at least from their daughter's viewpoint) in combining their work and family roles, thereby explaining the dominant finding of positive role-modeling.

Mothers also encourage appropriate norms and life-orientations for their daughters regardless of their features as sex-role models. By one means of normative influence (Kemper 1968), a mother intentionally communicates the appropriate norms and then actively rewards conformity and punishes deviance. By another means, mothers instill life-orientations by the general quality of their interaction with daughter. Interaction which estranges the daughter from her mother and family, regardless of its normative content, may lower family commitment.

In reality, elements of positive and negative modeling and of normative influence probably operate simultaneously. Their effects may be independent of each other, in which case their joint impact is additive; or, one process may have a conditional influence on the other. Social

learning theory (Bandura 1969) suggests that positive modeling varies directly with (1) the appropriateness of the model for the daughter's future role, and (2) the length of time the model is observed. If other characteristics of the mother--especially those that affect normative influence--increase her modeling power in either of these ways, then the amount of modeling should also be affected by these characteristics. For example, the traditional married mother who also works is likely to spend as much time as she can with her family, thus increasing the length of time in which the daughter may observe the mother. As a result, the mother may not have a traditional normative influence on her daughter, but may primarily heighten the likelihood of positive career-role modeling. If such conditional positive modeling occurs, then the relationships of marital status and traditionality to work orientation will be positive for girls with working mothers and negative for those with nonworking mothers, since the variables' primary effect will be to induce modeling (of the working mother or of the homemaker role, respectively).

In this study we successively test simple-modeling, normative-influence, and conditional positive-modeling hypotheses about the working mother's effect on her daughter's work orientation. First, if unconditional positive modeling dominates, then having a working mother will increase a girl's work orientation. Second, if normative influence dominates, then daughter's work orientation will vary inversely with mother's sex-role traditionality and daughter's integration into the family, regardless of mother's employment status. Third, if modeling is both positive and negative, depending on mother's work satisfaction, then working mothers with high-status occupations will increase daughter's work orientation,

while mothers in low-status occupations will decrease it. Fourth and most complex, if modeling is conditioned by other characteristics of the mother, modeling will be heightened by these characteristics: increasing the work orientation of girls with working mothers, decreasing the work orientation of girls with nonworking mothers. Finally, to examine possible racial differences, we test these hypotheses separately by race. We hypothesize (see above) that white girls' work orientation is more likely than black girls' to be a function of commitment to the exclusive homemaker role.

We designed our work-orientation measure to avoid assuming that work orientation is part of overall ambition level (see discussion above). Suter and Miller (1973) and Treiman and Terrell (1975) have shown that women who work continuously generally earn considerably higher salaries than do women who cease working during their children's preschool years. The strong relationship between an uninterrupted career and eventual career success (as measured by earning level) suggested a measure of adolescent work orientation: how early, in the life of each child, does a girl plan to work? A girl who plans to work continuously or who plans no children is highly work-oriented; a girl who plans never to work or to work only after her children have completed high school is low in work orientation.

DATA AND PROCEDURES

In January 1973, questionnaires were administered to all senior girls attending the Louisville (Kentucky) public high schools. School records for each student were also collected, and a 25% random sample of the students' mothers were interviewed at home. Our analysis is based on data for the 1067 girls who completed the questionnaire and for the sample of 258 mothers.[1]

Consistent with the biracial student composition of most large urban school systems, 42% of the girls and mothers were black.

We estimated regression models for blacks and whites separately. Correlations between any two variables measured in the student questionnaire or from records were based on data for all 1067 girls; correlations including a measure from the mother interview used only the data from the "mother-interviewed" sample. While this procedure maximized the analytic value of the available data, using population and sample values in the same analysis made significance tests problematic. We considered significant any regression coefficient with a standardized value of .10 or more. Such a value in metric form was typically 1 1/2 to 2 times its standard error using degrees of freedom from the mother sample, and 2 1/2 to 3 times its standard error using degrees of freedom from the population. The means, standard deviations, and correlations of the variables used in the regression analysis are shown in table 1.

Table 1 about here

We first examine the construct validity of the work-orientation measure. Construct validity is supported if we obtain the predicted black-white differences in the response distribution and the predicted relationships of work orientation to sex-role traditionality and ambition. We then analyze mother's socialization effect, first using additive models to determine the relative size and direction of role-modeling and normative-influence processes for daughter's work orientation. Next, we use nonadditive models to test the conditional-modeling hypothesis.

RESULTS

Work Orientation

Response distributions on work orientation (table 2) showed two main differences between blacks and whites. First, blacks averaged one full point higher than whites on the seven-point, work-orientation scale: the blacks' modal choice was "plan to work all the time"; among whites it was "plan to work after children have entered grade school." This difference is consistent with our earlier argument that within the black community, a working mother with young children is both more common and more acceptable. The second difference was the higher proportion of whites (twice as many) responding, "I don't know, I haven't thought much about this before." This difference supports our argument that whites are making more of a normative decision in placing themselves on this continuum. Their response has greater implications for their sex-role identity; the question thus causes more hesitation for whites and, hence, more "don't know" responses. We inferred that the uncertain respondents would be lower on both family and work commitment than the other respondents (since the former could not make a definite commitment). Therefore we scored them as neutral on work orientation, and assigned them race-specific means (see table 1). Three separate methodological checks confirmed this procedure.[2]

Table 2 about here

We next examined work orientation's race-specific correlations with indicators of sex-role traditionality, career ambition, and general ambition (table 3). Based on the earlier discussion, we expected sex-role traditionality to be related to work orientation only for whites, and the results supported this prediction. Career ambition and general

ambition were also expected to relate to work orientation differently by race. Our two constructs here are somewhat different from Turner's (1964a) career and noncareer components of women's ambition. Assuming that career ambition has a specific focus, we measured career ambition using indicators for expected occupational and educational attainments. In contrast, our concept of general ambition is based on a general desire, with no specific focus, to "get ahead" and to be esteemed by others. To measure general ambition, we used two behavioral indicators, grade-point average and number of extracurricular activities, that are means by which a girl can distinguish herself in school. Given the discussion earlier, we expected career ambition to relate positively to work orientation, especially for whites. For black girls, given their increased probability of coming from poor families, we expected high general ambition to reduce work orientation, reflecting their desire to escape their mothers' forced-work situation. The results generally supported both predictions, although for blacks the predicted negative correlation of the activities indicator was nonsignificant.[3] In short, work orientation for whites reflects low sex-role traditionality and high career ambition; for blacks, it is unrelated to traditionality and career ambition, and negatively related to general ambition.

Modeling and Normative Influence

We next tested for positive modeling and normative influence on work orientation (table 4). Having a working mother to model was measured

Table 4 about here

by mother's employment status (a dummy variable scored one if the mother was currently employed, zero otherwise). Mother's normative influence

was measured by her score on the sex-role traditionality scale (a high score indicated belief that a married woman's appropriate life style is very family-centered).[4] A second measure of normative influence was daughter's reported frequency of disagreements with mother on ten common areas of parent-adolescent debate (dating, dressing, studying, etc.). A girl who reported many disagreements was expected to be more work-oriented, as a result of the possible estrangement effect of normative influence discussed earlier. Controls for marital status and parents' socioeconomic status were also included in the regression model. Including them improved the accuracy of the within-group estimates, but they were also important for across-group comparisons, given the substantial differences between blacks and whites on these factors. Marital status was a dummy variable (coded one if currently married, zero otherwise). The two socioeconomic indicators were father's occupational status (Duncan 1961) and mother's education (highest year completed).

Contrary to findings from many previous studies, the results did not support the unconditional, positive-modeling hypothesis. Having a working mother, by itself, had no significant positive effect on work orientation for either group (although the possibility of conditional positive modeling is not excluded). Indeed for blacks, the effect was significant in the opposite direction, thus suggesting the possibility of negative modeling for them. The results partly supported the hypotheses concerning normative influence. For white girls, frequency of disagreements and mother's traditionality had effects in the expected direction; for blacks, neither effect was present. However, for whites, only the effect of disagreements was significant. None of the three

control variables showed significant effects for either group.

We next tested for the presence of negative modeling. If the negative impact of black working mothers was due to this process, then the effect should be concentrated in the group of mothers who held less desirable, lower-status jobs. The working-mother effect was reestimated using two dummy variables; one for mothers in blue-collar jobs, the other for mothers in white-collar jobs. This job-status breakdown was determined from the main category Census codings for their occupations. All other variables in the equation were unchanged (see table 5).

Table 5 about here

The results strongly support the negative-modeling hypothesis for blacks: all of the negative effect is concentrated in the blue-collar category. The negative value of these jobs was not surprising--most involved traditional housekeeping ("cleaning lady") work, perhaps the least desirable form of labor to young blacks.[5] As negative models, these working mothers create in their daughters a desire to achieve a life-style more rewarding than their own. This effect helps to explain the previous finding that black girls high in general ambition tend also to be less work-oriented. A parallel analysis for whites showed an unexpected, nearly significant negative effect for mothers in white-collar jobs. This relationship for whites was not an indication of negative modeling, however, as will be shown next.

Conditional Modeling

Testing the conditional-modeling hypothesis involved successively estimating three nonadditive regression models (table 6). The effect of

Table 6 about here

mother's occupational status was examined in interaction first with her sex-role traditionality, then with her number of disagreements with daughter and also with her marital status. All three variables were hypothesized to heighten the strength of any modeling effects--marital status to increase appropriateness as a model, the other two variables to increase the amount of interaction. Beginning with the 7-variable equation of table 5, we formed each nonadditive model by adding two interaction terms, obtained by multiplying each of the job-status dummy variables by the relevant mother characteristic. The number of cases prohibited analyzing all three sets of interactions simultaneously.[6] In each analysis (three each for blacks and whites), at least one of the two product terms was significant, indicating that the effect of these variables on work orientation depended on the mother's work status and job type. The strength and direction of these interactions are shown by the regression coefficients.

In general, positive modeling occurred as traditionality and number of disagreements increased. For both blacks and whites, having a working mother who was also traditional or high in disagreements increased work orientation.[7] Similarly, having a nonemployed mother decreased work orientation only if there were high scores on traditionality and disagreements. This pattern of interactions, and their similarity across race, disconfirms our earlier evidence that normative influence or negative modeling was the process affecting white girls. Normative influence might operate more strongly at some job-status levels than at others;

however, it could not (as happened) reverse its effect across levels such that in certain cases, a traditional mother would actually influence her daughter to become highly work-oriented; or, many disagreements would actually increase family commitment. The only interpretation consistent with the evidence is that conditional modeling is occurring--much interaction with daughters, caused by traditional mothers' generally higher family commitment and evidenced by many disagreements, increases the opportunity for modeling. Apparently the amount and not the content of interaction is the crucial factor.

For additional clarification figure 1 presents the first of these interactions graphically, showing the regression lines of work orientation on mother's traditionality (net of the other variables in the equation) within each work category. The solid lines show results for

Figure 1 about here

whites; the dash lines, results for blacks. The interaction with traditionality is revealed by the positive slopes for white-collar working mothers, and the negative slopes for nonemployed mothers. Although a cursory inspection might suggest otherwise, after one takes into account the higher intercepts for blacks and the difference in the blue-collar working-mother slopes, it becomes clear that the pattern of interaction across race is very similar. Thus the graph provides further support for the pervasive racial similarities that are apparent in table 6.[8] We can also see that except for black girls with blue-collar mothers, maternal employment has a strong positive effect on work orientation at high levels of traditionality. As traditionality increases, the regression line for girls with working mothers becomes much higher than that for

girls with nonworking mothers.

Another conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that these interactions did not alter the negative effect for black girls of having blue-collar working mothers. (This fact is clearest in the dash lines of figure 1.) The flat slope for girls with blue-collar mothers and the position of the regression line below the other two shows that these girls' relatively low work orientation was not affected by mother's traditionality. Apparently, the undesirable qualities of their mother's work had a consistently negative effect regardless of the mother's other characteristics.

Regarding marital status, we originally believed that a married mother would be considered a more appropriate model for her daughter's anticipated family role; thus a married, working mother should increase her daughter's work orientation, while a married, nonworking mother should decrease it. Our expectation was generally supported for whites, but not for blacks. For whites, mother's being married strongly increased daughter's work orientation for blue-collar working mothers, slightly (but insignificantly) increased it for white-collar working mothers, and slightly decreased it for nonworking mothers. For blacks the only significant effect was in the wrong direction--girls with married, white-collar working mothers had lower work orientations. The absence of a positive-conditioning effect for blacks suggests marital status is less important to blacks for assessing model appropriateness, since mothers who are not currently married are more common among blacks than among whites.

The presence of a negative-conditioning effect is more puzzling and may be a function of work orientation's negative relation to ambition for blacks. A black daughter whose mother is both married and in a white-collar job may model her mother's general ambition more than her work commitment per se and, as a result, show a lower-than-average work orientation.

DISCUSSION

Briefly, the evidence indicates that mother's work commitment was transmitted to her daughter by a process other than unconditional positive modeling or normative influence. The conditional positive modeling hypothesis best fit the data except for that on black girls with blue-collar working mothers, for whom the evidence showed unconditional negative modeling. Overall, the operation of modeling for both blacks and whites seems to contradict racial differences we found in the content of work orientation.

Specifically, we observed differences in the mean level of work orientation, and in the relationship of work orientation to sex-role traditionality, career ambition, and general ambition. Because work orientation seems to require more of a normative decision from whites than from blacks, the absence of a maternal normative influence for whites was puzzling. However, closer inspection of our data shows that white mothers, but not blacks, had an indirect normative influence on their daughters' work orientation (white mothers' sex-role traditionality correlated significantly with work status at $-.275$, $p<.01$; for black mothers, the correlation was nonsignificant: $-.067$, $p>.10$). Thus white

mothers' greater normative concern with working was transmitted via the effect traditionality had upon the mothers' own work behavior, which was modeled by her daughter. As a result, we had fewer white working mothers, and in turn fewer white daughters who are highly work oriented. Since blacks are less concerned with these normative issues, they participate more readily in the labor force. As many have pointed out, one strength of the black experience in American society has been the capacity of black women to perform jointly work and family roles.

The effects observed here are small, so the tests of alternative hypotheses are not as conclusive as we would like. Until demonstrated otherwise, though, our explanation for the small size of effects is that they realistically reflect the generally weak socialization of work orientation that is given to adolescent girls (see discussion below). Findings of a previous report from this study (Hout and Morgan 1975) support this interpretation. A causal model of expected attainments was estimated for each of the four race and sex subgroups. This model explained 53% of the variation in white males' educational goals, and 35% of the variation in their occupational goals. For white girls, this same model explained 39% of the variation in educational goals, but only 8% of the variation in their occupational goals. Comparable but less dramatic sex differences occurred for blacks. An indicator of parent's normative influence, amount of parental encouragement (derived from Rehberg, Sinclair, and Schaefer 1970), had significant effects on all four subgroups' educational goals, but affected the occupational goals only of the two male subgroups.

In contrast to our findings, much of the adolescent socialization literature has given primacy to a direct, parental normative effect. Studies of male achievement socialization usually have recognized the presence of both modeling and normative influence, but have assigned causal priority to the latter with little explicit testing of the assumption or consideration of its implications. For example, Sewell and associates (Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969; Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf 1970) used "significant other's influence" as the key social psychological mediator in their status attainment model. Drawing upon the theoretical work of Woelfel (1967), they defined significant others as "the specific persons from whom the individual obtains his level of aspiration, either because they serve as models or because they communicate to him their expectations for his behavior" (Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969, p. 84; emphasis added). However, their measure of this influence was the adolescent's perceived expectations of the significant others, thus representing only the normative component.

Woelfel and Haller (1971) used an improved procedure for measuring the effect of other's expectations on aspirations, and also attempted to provide a more theoretically consistent definition of significant other's influence. According to their position, the impact of significant others depends directly on the amount of information they convey, "either by words (definers) or examples (models), affective factors notwithstanding" (1971, p. 76). This definition thus merges norm-setting and modeling by emphasizing the cognitive dimension of both; however, they gave no empirical evidence to support the claims of this new definition.

In a later report on this study, Haller and Portes (1973) indicated that significant others were identified by respondents primarily as definers, or as definers and models, but by few as models alone.

Other studies have demonstrated the importance of parents' normative influence on achievement training without considering the modeling effect. Rehberg, Sinclair, and Schaefer (1970) reviewed and replicated several studies. They found parental goal-setting and performance evaluation to be related to the educational expectations of ninth graders. Kerckhoff and Huff (1974) concluded that the similarity between parents' and sons' goals was properly a measure of parental influence, and they found also that parents' goals (expectations) for 12th-grade sons' education were more closely related to the sons' goals than were parents' goals for 9th-grade sons. Based on this and other, related differences between the 9th and the 12th graders, they inferred that parents' normative influence was stronger on older boys. It may be, then, that we observed our respondents at a peak of receptiveness to normative influence. Many educational and occupational decisions made during the senior year of high school strongly affect future work commitments. Therefore, parents may increase their pressure on work attitudes during this period, with the result that any normative influence which does operate in determining work orientation is likely to appear at this stage of adolescence.

The predominance of normative-influence findings and/or interpretations in studies of male achievement socialization contrasts sharply with present and previous findings for girls' work orientation, which stress the importance of role-modeling. Although this difference may partly reflect differences in the researchers' theoretical traditions,

two substantive interpretations are also plausible.

The first interpretation attributes the absence of normative influence to a unique aspect of work orientation. Even if they want to, parents may not be able to set work-orientation norms in the same way that they set achievement norms, because the everyday life of adolescents lacks relevant work-orientation experiences. Much parental normative influence occurs via the "audience effect" (Kemper 1968), whereby parents' approval and other rewarding responses to children's accomplishments help to foster more general achievement goals. With the possible exception of sex-role behavior, there is little adolescent behavior related to the development of work orientation that parents can see and encourage. Moreover, parents' role in socializing sex-role behavior during adolescence is minimal compared to the role played by peers (Emmerich, Goldman, and Shore 1971).

The second interpretation is that this difference has its basis in the value structure of American society. The transmission of achievement norms is a relatively uniform occurrence because in an achievement-oriented society such as ours, this is what parents want to do, especially for their sons, in order to prove their success as parents. Often overlooked is that such influence is effective not simply because parents transmit the desired goals, but because these parents usually also promise to help provide the financial resources necessary to achieve these goals (Adams and Meidam 1968).

The transmission of work-orientation norms is a different matter. Although most parents (and mothers in particular) have beliefs about work orientation, they still have few social incentives to transmit them

to their children. Instead, transmission is usually indirect, as when a daughter models her mother's work behavior. As we have found, this modeling is less straightforward than is the effect of normative influence; it varies directly with interaction with the mother and with her appropriateness as a model, and may be negative if characteristics of the mother's life style are judged undesirable. Boys may also be socialized into work-commitment orientations primarily through modeling. With increasing numbers of mothers in the labor force, the stereotype of the male-provider role is breaking down, and work commitment will probably become a more variable dimension of life-style preference for men as well as for women. To test this possibility in future research, one would want to measure father's work commitment, for example by coding his occupation according to the average number of hours worked per week. When this process has been delineated for boys as well as girls, the next step will be to determine for each sex the relative importance of same- versus cross-sex models in the development of work orientation.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Comparing characteristics of students in the "mother-interviewed" sample with those of the whole student population showed that mothers of working-class white students were slightly underrepresented. Consequently, we obtained weights from the population and applied them to the race and the social-class strata of the "mother-interviewed" sample to correct the disproportionality. (Using such weights assumes that the sample was otherw'se random within each category; we have no evidence that such was not the case.)

[2]First, a comparison was made with results from the alternative procedure of treating the "don't know" responses as missing data and deleting them from the analysis. The only difference was slightly larger regression coefficients with the deletion procedure, the increment being constant across all variables but larger for whites, who included more such respondents. Second, the alternative of assigning a nonneutral score was checked. Work orientation was coded to the dummy variable "don't know/other" and regressed on a set of eighteen independent variables (including those used in the main analysis) and various subsets of these. All effects were nonsignificant, indicating these girls were not consistently high or low on work orientation. Third, the work orientation response distribution was compared with that for an older, personally interviewed sample of girls whose rate of uncertainty would be lower. These were a random sample of 156 white female students at Indiana University. Although they gave less than one-third as many don't know responses, their mean score of 4.14 was almost identical to that for the

high school whites. More striking was that the reduction in "don't knows" produced an increase (relative to the high school sample) in only one response category--the modal, "neutral" response (planning to work after the children are in grade school).

[3]A reason for this nonsignificance may be Turner's (1964b, pp. 123-4) suggestion that "social climbing" through extracurricular activities does not have the same meaning in relation to ambition in poorer neighborhoods that it does in middle and higher neighborhoods.

[4]This scale, which yielded an alpha-reliability of .74, was constructed from responses to the following eight items, to which respondents were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree:

> A married woman's most important task in life is taking care of her husband and children.
>
> A married woman should realize that her greatest reward and satisfaction come through her children.
>
> Having a job herself should be just as important for a woman as encouraging her husband in his job.
>
> If she works, a woman should <u>not</u> try to get ahead in the same way that a man does.
>
> A married woman should be able to make long-range plans for her occupation, in the same way that men do.
>
> If a man's wife works, he should share equally in the responsibilities of child care.
>
> If a mother of young children works, it should be only while the family needs the money.
>
> If a man's wife works, he should share equally in household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and washing.

[5]Negative modeling, as used here, should not be construed as implying negative affect toward the mother. On the contrary, the mother who is

perceived to be scrubbing floors so that her daughter may escape this fate is likely to be strongly admired by her daughter.

[6]An alternative test for conditional positive modeling would have been to dichotomize each conditioning factor and examine the effect of mother's occupational status within the two classifications. We decided against this approach because we would lose information by dichotomizing the traditionality and disagreement scales, and we could obtain the same information by using a graphic representation of the findings from the technique chosen (see figure 1).

[7]The only exception was the negative effect of traditionality for whites whose mothers had blue-collar jobs. However, this effect is not significant and should properly be considered zero.

[8]Similar results were also obtained on the graph showing the interaction of work status with disagreements.

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TABLE 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlations for Selected Variables, by Race, Louisville High School Senior Girls (Whites below Diagonal, Blacks above)

	EMP	BC	WC	ED	OCC	MAR	TRAD	DIS	WO
1. Mother employed (EMP)[a]	---	...[b]	...	-.174	.230	-.049	-.065	.046	-.128
2. Mo. emp., blue collar job (BC)[a]	...	---	-.358	-.220	-.175	-.152	.098	.026	-.155
3. Mo. emp., white collar job (WC)[a]	...	-.279	---	.437	.439	.114	-.188	.026	.019
4. Mo. education (ED)	-.015	-.244	.196	---	.431	.252	-.228	-.064	-.053
5. Father's occupation (OCC)	-.079	-.254	.116	.525	---	-.064	-.194	-.008	.005
6. Mo. marital status (MAR)[a]	-.106	-.126	-.008	.211	.194	---	.037	-.370	-.023
7. Mo. traditionality (TRAD)[a]	-.275	-.116	-.210	-.315	-.295	-.223	---	-.021	.015
8. Mo. disagreements (DIS)	.137	.058	.094	-.031	-.058	-.199	-.019	---	.044
9. Work orientation (WO)	.003	.105	.090	.031	-.039	.075	-.067	.106	---
Mean, Whites	0.44	0.19	0.25	11.7	38.6	0.81	20.8	0.72	4.12
Mean, Blacks	0.53	0.32	0.22	11.7	31.0	0.65	21.7	1.15	5.17
S.D., Whites	0.49	0.39	0.44	2.3	24.2	0.39	3.5	1.18	1.45
S.D., Blacks	0.50	0.46	0.42	1.9	23.1	0.48	3.3	1.62	1.14

[a]Measure obtained from mother interviews.

[b]Correlation not used in any of the regression models.

TABLE 2

Work Orientation Response Distribution by Race,
Louisville High School Senior Girls

Work Orientation	Whites %	Blacks %
1. Don't plan to work	9.0	2.9
2. Work after children through high school	3.9	.7
3. . . . after children in junior high	7.6	1.1
4. . . . after children in grade school	17.0	14.5
5. . . . after children in nursery school	12.3	25.4
6. . . . work all the time	10.3	28.8
7. Don't plan to have children	5.8	7.8
Don't know	34.1	18.8
	100%	100%
(N)	(448)	(619)

TABLE 3

Zero-Order Correlations of Selected Indicators with Work Orientation, by Race

Indicators	Whites	Blacks
Traditionality[a]		
Sex-Role Index (SRI) of Expected Occupation	-.131**	-.060
Perceived Sex Distribution of Expected Occupation	-.147**	-.061
Career Ambition[b]		
Expected Educational Attainment	.091*	.009
Expected Occupational Attainment	.106*	-.014
General Ambition		
Grade Average	.057	-.136**
Extracurricular Activity Participation	.051	-.032

*p<.05

**p<.01

[a]SRI scores were constructed from the 1970 Census-reported sex distributions in each girl's expected occupation (Cardascia and Morgan 1974).

[b]Expected occupational attainment was determined from Duncan's (1961) Socioeconomic Index assigned to each girl's expected occupation. Expected educational attainment was the number of years of post-high school education the girl expected to complete (Hout and Morgan 1975).

TABLE 4

Coefficients to Test the Effect, by Race, of Positive Modeling and Normative Influence on Daughter's Work Orientation

Independent Variables	Metric Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Mo. employed	-.080	-.304*	-.028	-.134
Mo. traditionality	-.028	.002	-.067	.006
Mo. disagreements	.148*	.029	.122	.049
Mo. marital status	.335	.012	.090	.005
Mo. education	.027	-.030	.044	-.052
Fa. occupation	-.006	.003	-.094	.060
Intercept	4.25	5.74		
R^2	.029	.022		

*Indicates standardized coefficient is .10 or higher; see text.

TABLE 5

Coefficients to Test the Effect, by Race, of Negative Role-Modeling on Daughter's Work Orientation

Independent Variables	Metric Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Mo. emp., white collar job	-.325*	-.034	-.098	-.012
Mo. emp., blue collar job	.281	-.438*	.076	-.180
Mo. traditionality	-.022	.005	-.054	.015
Mo. disagreements	.153*	.023	.127	.039
Mo. marital status	.354*	-.030	.095	-.013
Mo. education	.046	-.049	.075	-.086
Fa. occupation	-.005	.009	-.075	.018
Intercept	3.85	5.74		
R^2	.046	.034		

*Indicates standardized coefficient is .10 or higher; see text.

TABLE 6

Coefficients to Test the Effect, by Race, of Conditional Role-Modeling on Daughter's Work Orientation

Independent Variables	Metric Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
For girls with white-collar working mothers:				
Mo. traditionality	.051*	.092*	.123	.265
Mo. disagreements	.450*	.382*	.372	.646
Mo. marital status	.204	-.424*	.055	-.178
For girls with blue-collar working mothers:				
Mo. traditionality	-.011	.033*	-.026	.095
Mo. disagreements	.806*	.204*	.667	.345
Mo. marital status	1.525*	.075	.411	.032
For girls with nonemployed mothers:				
Mo. traditionality	-.058*	-.043*	-.140	-.123
Mo. disagreements	-.138*	-.038	-.114	-.064
Mo. marital status	-.226	.042	-.061	.018
R 's for the nonadditive models including:				
Traditionality x Occ. status	.059	.055		
Disagreements x Occ. status	.141	.070		
Marital status x Occ. status	.083	.040		

*Indicates standardized coefficient is .10 or higher; see text.

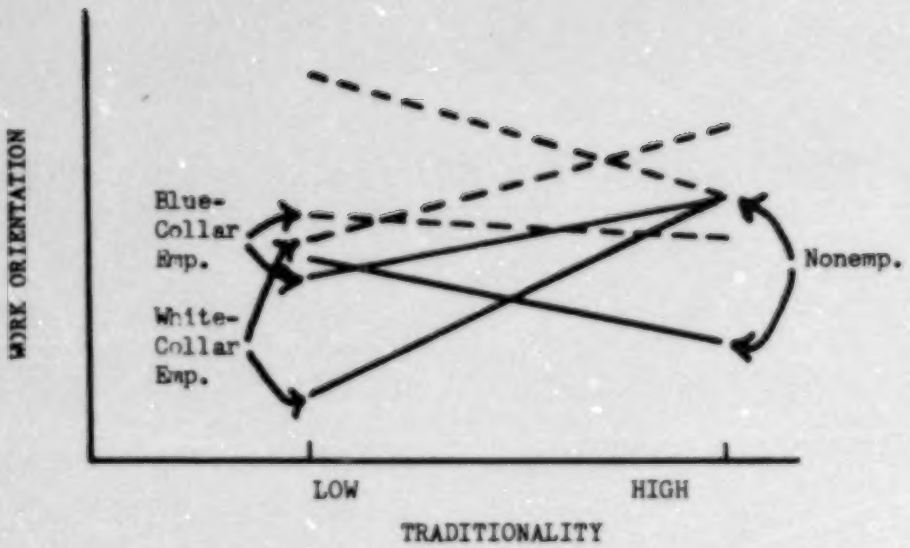

Fig. 1.--The interaction of mother's traditionality and occupational status for whites (solid lines) and blacks (dash lines).